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# A Bakhtiari Prose Text

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BY

LT.-COL. D. L. R. LORIMER, C.I.E.

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THE assemblage of tribes known as the Bakhtiāri occupy the mountain tract in Southern Persia lying roughly between longitudes 48 40' and 51 E, bounded on the south by the plains of Khuzistan and on the north by the districts of Chahārmahāl, Farēdan, and Khonsār, where the central Iranian Plateau blends into the great southern mountain range.

The Bakhtiāri tribes fall into two main groups, the Haftlang and the Chahārlang. The Haftlang predominate both in numbers and importance and are almost entirely nomadic, while the Chahārlang are for the most part a settled population occupying the country round Qala' Tul in the south-east corner of the joint tribal territory.

For information regarding the history and social organization and conditions of the Bakhtiāri reference may be made to Lord Curzon's *Persia*, vol. ii, and for an excellent summary including more recent material, to the valuable article entitled "The Bakhtiaris", by Sir Arnold T. Wilson, in the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, vol. xiii, part iii, 1926, pp. 205-25.

This essay contains a useful bibliography, to which may now be added the articles "Lur" and "Luristan", by V. Minorsky, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1928). These articles give an admirable summary of what is known regarding the Lurs, the larger ethnological group of which the Bakhtiāri are a fraction. They are further provided with bibliographies, which include Persian as well as European literary sources.

There is further to be mentioned the *Kitāb i Tarīkh i Bakhtiārī*, in Persian, by Sultān Muhammad Nāyīnī, compiled under the direction of the late distinguished Bakhtiāri chief

Haji 'Ali Quli Khān, Sardār As'ad, completed in the year 1333 A.H. This work consists of about 600 fscp. lithographed pages. A considerable portion of it is formed by quotations from the works of European writers, e.g. Layard, Curzon, etc., which are of no value to those who have access to the originals, but there are also quotations from Persian works, and, more valuable still, original historical and topographic matter with some references to tribal organization, administration, and customs. It is a pity that this original element of the work was not developed in greater completeness and detail. The book is not easy to obtain, and I have to thank Sir Arnold Wilson for procuring a copy for my inspection.

The language of the Bakhtiāri is one of a group of Persian dialects extending geographically along the mountain tract from Pusht i Kūh on the west to the Kuhgilu and Mamāsani territories on the east. This group is akin to that of the Fars dialects, including Modern Persian.

The differences from Modern Persian are marked in the sphere of phonology and there is also some divergence in vocabulary. In morphology the divergence is limited in range, and in syntax there is nothing radically different from non-literary colloquial Persian.

Up till recently the Bakhtiāri dialect had received little attention. A few words had been recorded by travellers in the nineteenth century, but it was only in 1910 that Oskar Mann published his *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme in Südwestlichen Persien* in which he gives something less than two pages of prose texts and about 339 lines of verse, and a vocabulary of some 120 distinctively Bakhtiāri words.

In his introduction Mann disposes of the previously-alleged relationship of Bakhtiāri to the Kurdish group of dialects. In an earlier article "Kurze Skizze der Lurdialekte", *SBAW*, 1904, pp. 1173-93, he had given a brief account of the principal morphological and phonological features of the Bakhtiāri and other Lur dialects.



In 1922 was published posthumously the third part of V. Žukovski's *Materialy dlya Izučeniya Persidskikh Narečii*, consisting of the "Dialect of the Chahārlang and Haftlang Bakhtiārīs".

This work contains about 2,000 lines of verse (1,000 *bait*s) with Russian translations, and a complete Bakhtiāri-Russian Vocabulary with references to the texts and a Russian-Bakhtiāri index. There are no prose texts.

The material was collected, according to the information of Minorski, in the years 1883–1886. A Bakhtiāri note in the book appears to give A.H. 1302 (A.D. 1884) as the date of the translation.

It is much to be regretted that the author, who died in 1918, failed to supply this work with the introduction and commentary which he was so well-qualified to write. Copies are now difficult to obtain.

In the *Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian*, Prize Publication Fund, Royal Asiatic Society, 1922, I attempted to carry out a detailed comparison of the sounds of Bakhtiāri with those corresponding to them in Modern Persian. This book contains a Bakhtiāri-English Vocabulary of some 1,200 or 1,300 entries, including words used in, but not peculiar to, Bakhtiāri. It was based entirely on materials collected by myself in 1906, 1908, and 1913–14.

This concludes, as far as I know, the record of Bakhtiāri material published up to the present time.

It will be noted that while there is a considerable body of verse at the command of those to whom Žukovski's collection is available, the published prose amounts only to some two pages.

Bakhtiāri verse is extremely interesting from various points of view, but owing to archaism, conventionality and obscurity of diction it is not entirely typical of the ordinary spoken language, which is much better represented by modern prose narrative.

In these circumstances the publication of *Bakhtiāri* prose texts cannot be regarded as supererogatory, and any addition to the small existing stock may perhaps be welcomed.

The short text which I print below is a fairly typical sample of a large number which I possess.

It is to be remembered that these texts were taken down from oral communication and that consequently some degree of inconsequence of thought, and clumsiness of expression is to be expected, apart from possible errors of the recorder.

I retain my original system of transcription which is as follows—the illustrations of the sounds are only approximate :—

The following are the

<i>Vowels</i>		
<i>ā</i> and <i>-a</i>	English	<i>father.</i>
<i>ā̇</i>	„	<i>awful.</i>
<i>a</i>	„	<i>but.</i>
<i>e</i>	„	<i>water.</i>
<i>à</i>	„	<i>cat.</i>
<i>ē</i>	French	<i>été.</i>
<i>è</i>	English	<i>let.</i>
<i>ī</i>	„	<i>seen.</i>
<i>i</i>	„	<i>bit.</i>
<i>ū</i> and <i>-u</i>	„	<i>boot.</i>
<i>u</i>	„	<i>put.</i>
<i>ō</i> and <i>-o</i>	„	<i>mote.</i>
<i>o</i>	„	<i>not.</i>
<i>ai</i>	„	<i>die.</i>
<i>au</i>	„	<i>sound.</i>
<i>oi</i>	„	<i>noise.</i>

*ē*, *ī*, *ō* are not diphthongal as they tend to be in English.

Where a secondary vowel sound is introduced I have represented it by a separate vowel.

*ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ū* may be longer or shorter forms of the given quality.

The following are the



## Consonants

<i>k, g</i> , as in English.	<i>p, b, w/v, f</i> .
<i>χ</i> , voiceless spirant as in Scotch <i>loch</i> .	<i>č</i> ( <i>church</i> ).
<i>γ</i> , voiced spirant correspond- ing to <i>χ</i> .	<i>j</i> ( <i>judge</i> ), <i>y</i> ( <i>yard</i> ).
<i>q</i> , velar.	<i>s, š</i> ( <i>shut</i> ).
<i>t, d</i> , as in English.	<i>z, ž</i> ( <i>pleasure</i> ).
<i>δ</i> , voiced spirant as in English <i>that</i> .	<i>n, m</i> .
	<i>l, r, h</i> .

The sound represented in the text by *ūn* would, I think, be more correctly expressed as *ũ<sup>n</sup>* or sometimes merely *ũ*.

*ng* followed by a vowel is pronounced *nəg* as in *mongrel*; otherwise the *g* is silent, as in *singing*.

The following summary statement of some of the characteristic features of Bakhtiāri Phonology and Morphology may be of interest and will facilitate the examination of the text.

## PHONOLOGY

[B<sub>χ</sub> = Bakhtiāri; Mn. P. = Modern Persian; O.C.P. = Ordinary Colloquial Persian.]

## Vowels

Mn.P. <i>ā</i>	is represented by	B <sub>χ</sub> . <i>ā̇</i> and frequently <i>ō</i> .
<i>ām, am</i>	„ „	<i>ūm, um</i> .
<i>ān</i>	„ „	<i>ūn, ũ, ō</i> .
<i>a</i>	„ „	<i>ē, ai</i> , in a few words.
<i>-and</i>	„ „	<i>-an, -en, -èn</i> .
<i>ū</i>	„ „	<i>ī</i>
<i>u</i>	„ „	<i>i</i> frequently.
<i>ũ</i> and <i>ō</i> are often used indifferently.		

## Consonants

Mn.P. *-g-* intervocalic frequently represented by B<sub>χ</sub>. *-y-*.  
*-d-* intervocalic frequently represented by B<sub>χ</sub>. *-δ-* or  
*-y-* or disappears.

-*d* final is frequently dropped.

-*b*- intervocalic and sometimes initial, B $\chi$ . -*w*-.

$\chi$ - initial, B $\chi$ . *h*-.

- $\chi^t$  medial and final, B $\chi$ . -*hd*, - $\delta$ , -*d*.

- $\chi^m$ , B $\chi$ . -*hm*, -*m*.

-*r* $\chi$ , -*l* $\chi$  B $\chi$ . -(*h*)*r*, and -(*h*)*l*.

$\gamma$  frequently appears as B $\chi$ . *q*.

*q* frequently appears as B $\chi$ .  $\gamma$ .

<i>āb</i>	}	appear as - <i>au</i> .
<i>ab</i>		
<i>af</i> (+ $\check{s}$ , <i>s</i> )		

<i>ft</i> in <i>giriftan</i>	}	appears as - <i>d</i> , - <i>hd</i> , or - $\delta$ .
<i>guftan</i>		
<i>raftan</i>		

(B $\chi$ . *girēdan*, *gudan*, *rahdan*, and variants.)

-*m*- medial in some words, B $\chi$ . -*w*-, -*v*-.

(This is characteristic also of the Kurdish group,  
but also occurs in Gabri.)

-*n* sometimes takes after it an excrescent *d*.

$\check{s}$  appears in some words as *s*.

*r* is sometimes replaced by *l*.

In B $\chi$ . *h* frequently appears as an inorganic glide between vowels; on the other hand Mn.P. intervocalic -*h*- usually disappears in B $\chi$ ., the vowels then coalescing.

Examples of these and other phenomena will be found in the *Phonology of the Bakhtiāri, Badakhshāni, and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian*, R.A.S., 1922.

## MORPHOLOGY

### Nouns

Nouns denoting *animate beings* have the plural endings -*ūñ* and -*gal*, -*gèl*, -*yèl*.

Those denoting *inanimate things* have their plural in -*ā*.

The *Accusative Suffix*, when expressed, is -*a*, -*e* when following a consonant, and -*na*, -*ne* when following a vowel or *r*.



When there is a dependent adjective or genitive following, the accusative suffix is attached to it.

The Accusative Suffix is expressed when the noun is determinate, but may also be present when the noun is used indefinitely.

e.g. *ya dōlū.ēna* just “ he sought for an old woman ”.

The *Genitive* is expressed as in Modern Persian by the use of the *izafa* *i*, *è*, *e*, *a*—which, however, is often omitted, or is absorbed in a contiguous vowel.

The *Dative* and *Ablative* are produced as in Mn.P. by the use of the prepositions *bi* for the dat. and *zè*, *iz*, *az* for the abl. respectively.

A noun that is rendered *definite*, as by a demonstrative adjective or pronominal suffix, or which in English would have the definite article, may take a suffix *-ē*, or sometimes *(-i)kē*, *(-i)ka*.

A noun used *indefinitely*, as in English with the indefinite article, or denoting one unspecified individual with the numeral *ya(k)* expressed or implied, may take a suffix *-ē*, *-è*, *-i*, *-e*, e.g. *didū.ē dāšt* “ he had a sister ”.

This suffix may give the sense of “ any ”, “ some ”: e.g. *samerè sī't nadārē* “ it has not any advantage for you ”.

Owing to their variable and overlapping forms these suffixes, the *izafa*, and also the reduced forms of the Conjunction *wo* “ and ”, viz. *o*, *e*, *a* are not always easy to distinguish from each other.

The 3rd singular of the enclitic substantive verb “ is ” is also *ē*, *è*, *a*.

### *Pronouns*

The Personal Pronouns are :—

Sg. 1. <i>mū</i> , <i>mo</i> .	2. <i>tū</i> , <i>to</i> .	3. <i>ū</i> , <i>o</i> .
Pl. 1. <i>īmā</i> .	2. <i>īsā</i> .	3. <i>ūnūñ</i> .

The enclitic forms are :—

Sg. 1. <i>-um</i> .	2. <i>-it</i> , <i>-at</i> .	3. <i>-is</i> , <i>-as</i> .
Pl. 1. <i>-mūñ</i> .	2. <i>-tūñ</i> .	3. <i>-sūñ</i> . <i>-sōñ</i> .

The Demonstratives are :—

Proximate : *this* :

Sg. *yū, yo.*

Pl. *yūnūñ.*

*ī*

*īnūñ*

Remoter : *that* : Sg. *ū, o*

Pl. *ūnūñ*

All the forms ending in vowels take the accusative suffix  
-*na, ne*

*ī* and *ū* are also used as adjectives.

### Verbs

The Personal Endings are :—

Sg. 1. -*um*

2. -*ī, -ē*

3. -*ē, -è, -a*

Pl. 1. -*īm*

2. -*īn*

3. -*an, -en, -èn*

As in Mn.P. the 3rd sing. preterite is the simple form of the past base without any personal ending.

The Prefix with the present and imperfect indicative is :  
*i-, è-* in place of the Mn.P. *mī-*

The Present also does duty for the future.

The Perfect is formed by suffixing -*ē* to the various forms of the Preterite.

The Pluperfect as in Mn.P. consists of the past participle followed by the various persons of the past tense of *bīdan* (Mn.P. *būdan*), but it is not common in ordinary narrative.

The construction with the past tenses of transitive verbs is active as in Mn.P., but the past participle may also be used as a passive participle.

The forms of the Enclitic Substantive Verb are identical with the personal endings given above, but when they are affixed to a word ending with a vowel they take an initial *n-* in the singular.

Thus : 1. -*num*

2. -*nī*

3. -*nē*

e.g. *māl i tunum* “ I am thy property ”.

The same probably holds good of the plural.

The Mn.P. *hast-*, negative *nīst-* “ be, exist ” is represented by B<sub>χ</sub>. *hèd-*, *hèδ-* and *nē.iδ-*.

The Mn.P. *šudan* “ to become ”, does not occur in B<sub>χ</sub>.



and its place is taken by *wō i bīdan* (*wā*-, *wā*-) pres. base : *wō i bū(h)*-, and sometimes by the simple *bīdan*, *bū(h)*-.

Mn.P. *bāšam*, etc., is replaced by the Pres. subj. of *bīdan*, viz. *būhum*, etc.

The Infinitive ending *-istan* is common in Bχ., replacing the Mn.P. *-īdan*.

So : Bχ. *tersistan* “to be afraid”, Mn.P. *tersīdan*.

There are a few Transitive Verbs with the infinitive in *-nīdan* corresponding to Mn.P. *-ānīdan* or *-āndan*, e.g. :—

Bχ. *čārnīdan* “to graze” (cattle) Mn.P. *čarān(ī)dan*  
*jumnīdan* “to shake” *jumbānīdan*

The same infinitive suffix also appears in some Intransitive Verbs :—

e.g. Bχ. *qurumnīdan* “to thunder” *qurūmnīdan*  
*jīknīdan* “to cheep” *jīknīdan*

### *Hikāʔt i Zan o Havū.*

*Šaxsē az tā.ifa Dīnārūn du zēna dāšt, yekī az tāfa Sihīd  
yēkī az tāfa Gūrū.ī kē mahalsuñ Gūrū.ī ba Šēhmin, Sihīd ba  
Fālē. Zēn' i Sihīd gyapter bīd, Gūrū.ī kučīrter. Mērike  
Gūrū.īna bēšter iχāst. Ya rūz gud : “Ai Gulistūñ ! mo  
tune qalavē i xo”m, amā tū qāvil nē.i dī.” Gud : “Čitaur ? ” 5  
Gud : “Herčē ba tu igohum gūš nē.igirī. Waxtī kē gūsin-  
dūnmūñ iyāhen ser a dūñ tū zīter wurē bidūšsuñ kē ū zēna na  
wuristē, wa χut ham havīr ya šūlwā kē dārīm rāst bikun. Mo  
az ū zēna qalavē itersum. To dīdī dōrī ba mo dād. Az laj i to  
munē ikušē.” Gulistūñ ham gud : “Ba min e tē.um ! Herče 10  
tu igūhī gūš igirum.” Šaursūñ kerd. Dī.er herčē mēra's  
iguδ, hamū kār ikerd. Zēna gyapa χārij wō ibīd. Az qazā  
Gulistūñ bača ba iškam wō ibīd. Bād az noh mäh avē.id ser i  
pā. Fišnādan, māmāča aroid. Zangēl jam wō ibīdan. Yek  
kurrē Xudā bē's karāmat kerd. Ismas nahādan ba Kunārī. 15  
Bād iz čan sāl gyap wō ibīdē. Kē do sē sāl wō ibīd nāz ba ū  
ikerdan. (Nāz ba kuras ikerdan) wa bōzī ikerdan. Zēna  
gyapa gud : “Xo”, i mēra mune dī.er nē.i xo. Wā yek firgē*

bukunum. Šau tai'm nē.iχausē; hama tai ū zēnē iχausē."  
 20 Avidan ya ruz šūlwā dū nahādan ser a čāla. Wuristād pā<sup>e</sup>  
 hūr. Yē tī mērgyī.ā az gaubāzūn istaida bīd, yuna dāšt goiyum  
 kērda, rēdsūn min e šūlwā, nihādas pēš a mērika. Tā terist  
 zi's χārd Rā<sup>d</sup> just e haivūnas. Ba koh dōrī aser kerd, hālis  
 be yak χerd. Bang i māl kerd kē: "Bī.āhīn, muna biwerīn."  
 25 Avidan, kerdinas ba kūl, burdanas ba hōña. Pursīdan:  
 "Čitē?" Gud: "Herčē bīd min e šūlwā<sup>e</sup>dūy χērdum."  
 Mūrišt kerd. Du sē tā lihāf vandan wur rī's. Tā do sā.at  
 tau kerd. Zē nū dah rūz dī.er vast, bād az dāh rūz χu wō ibīd,  
 amā mērgyī.āna χerdē bīd. Kušinda na bīd. Ādam e majhūl  
 30 ikunē. Pī.ā faqēra majhūl kērd. Dī.er ne ba kār i ī zēna iχard,  
 na ba kār i ū zēna, hamītaur igyašt. Hālā īmā igūhīm kē  
 ādam na wā bi qaul i zan raftār bukunē, kē zan wafā na dārē,  
 ba hēcī ādamē az miyūn iberē. Ū zēnana χus o kurase judā  
 kerdan. Rā<sup>d</sup>dan ze pai kār χusūn. Kunārī wā dā's o bau.ūs  
 35 ser i yēk manden. Ayer kē her dōña jūr i yak iχāst ī derde  
 nē.izaid bē's. Wō.istī jūr i yēk χātirsūn buxō.ē; na χāst.  
 Yēkīne izad bukunē, yakīna izad nakunē, yō bad kārī.a. Pašīmūn  
 wō ibīd, ke: "Sī čē ī kārē kerdum, kē sadama buxurum?"  
 Šau o rūz majhūl bīd, inišast hamōčō. Kunārī gyap wō ibīd.  
 40 Kištakārē kerd. Umūrsūn iguzašt. Ya dafa wā bā hergyēl  
 rā<sup>d</sup> ser a au. Dīd yēk tīl i zanē ser a au bīd. Au ruft bi mašk.  
 Bē's gud: "Terī buzyēl idūšī? Terī serase binūšī? Terī  
 bār iberī būn? Terī yē tī bidīmūn?" Zēnikē gud: "ai  
 hōña χarāb! Ī qazer wilingār na bū. Rasm i Baxtī.ārī yū  
 45 nē.iδ kē to her gō.ē dilat iχō buxurī. Ayer kē gyauyēlum  
 bifahmen kē tū ī herfā ba mu zaidī, tāza dah nafer imīrē. Birau  
 yak zēnē bistūn. Tū jāhili, fām nadārī. Xaiyāl nakunī kē  
 'yo zēnē wa mo mēr'um.' Gyauyēlum bimīran! Ba arwā  
 bau.um! kē ayer kē ya dafa dī.er z'ī herfā bizanīn ba hamīn  
 50 berd mazg i serat e ba dahūnat ivanum. Tuxm i to her'umē."  
 Kunārī tai χus χaiyāl kerd kē dil e qāfil χuv igō. Ayer kē  
 merdum bifāman jang e qāl ibūhē. U waχt rā<sup>d</sup> tai tāt'is. Sad  
 tuman šīrbōhī dād. Dōder i tāt'is e istaid, χaili sāhav daulat  
 wō ibīd. Bunyād kērd ba jallāvkešī. Iχerīd, iferō<sup>u</sup>δ, yānē



*kauwa iḡerīd, šīšak kē wō ibīdan iferō.udsūñ. Baxtis ham 55*  
*ōvērđ; do kur gīris ōvēd az dōder i tāt'is. Ismase nahād Ōli,*  
*o yakī dī.er Mahmīd. Ī dō tāna ba ya iškam ovērdsūñ. Sako*  
*ba andāza hazār hōña hēden az tāfa Dīnārūn, kē az hamū nū*  
*ber pā wō ibīdan. Ism e tā<sup>a</sup>fasuñ, Ālī Mahmīdī merdum igōhen.*  
*Naqd germsēr Sūsin mahal dāren. Ailāq Pā i Tauwa Dōverār. 60*

*Tamōm wō ibīd*

### Notes on Text

*havū, habbū*, a co-wife in a polygynous household.

1. *Dīnārūñ*, usually *Dīnārūni* (دینارونی), one of the four main tribal divisions of the Haftlang Bakhtiāri, of which the Sihīd (سید ?) and Gūrū.i are sections.

The other three main tribes are the Dūrakī, Bābādī, and Bēdārwand (i.e. Baxti.ārwand).

3. *gyap* and *kučīr* correspond in meaning to Mn.P. *buzurg* and *kučīk*.

*mērike* : *mēra* “husband”. The suffix *-(i)ka*, *-(i)ke*, *-(i)kē* here and frequently has the force of the definite article “the husband”, cf. l. 22 and *zēnikē*, l. 43.

4. *Gūrū.īna* : *-na*, *-ne*, *-nē* is the form of the Accusative suffix when following a vowel cf. “tune”, l. 5.

Following a consonant it is *-a*, *-e*, cp. *ū zēna-na ḡus o kurase judā kerdan*, l. 33.

*iḡāst* } 3rd sing. imperfect } here “to love”.  
*iḡo<sup>um</sup>m* } 1st sing. present } of *ḡāstan* “to desire, wish”,

5. *qalavē, qalava* “very, very much”, Ar.P. *yalaba* which is not, as far as I know, used in colloquial Persian, but is found in Parāčī with the meaning “many, much, very”, v. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, vol. i, 1929, p. 255.

*qāvil*, Mn.P. *qābil* “competent, worthy”.

*nē.iḡī*, Mn.P. *nīstī*, cf. *nē.iḡ*, l. 45, and *hēden*, l. 58.

7. *iyāhen*, Mn.P. *mī.āyand*.

*zūter*, Mn.P. *zūdter*. The comparative is often used with practically the same force as the positive.

9.  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{wurē} \\ \textit{wuristē} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{imperative} \\ \text{3rd sing. pres. subj.} \end{array} \right\} \text{ of } \textit{wuristādan}$

Which corresponds in sense to Mn.P. *berχ<sup>v</sup>āstan* (*berχīz-*). But it seems often to denote merely “to proceed to” do something, “to set about” an action.  
*χut* = *χudat*; *havīr* = *χamīr*; *šūlwā* = *šūrbā*.  
*dōrī* = *dārū*.

10. *munē* = *marā* acc. of *mu*, *mo* “I”, cf. ll. 18, 24.  
*ikušē* = *mīkušad*. The future is expressed in B<sub>χ</sub>. by the present tense.  
*min e tē.um* = *miyān i čašmam*. In ordinary Persian simply *čašm*!  
 11. *šairsūñ kerdan* “they took counsel with each other”.  
*mašwarat bā ham dīgar kerdand*.

The *sūñ* (= *-šān*) here looks very like the agential pronoun which is found in some dialects, e.g. Gabri, but this construction certainly does not occur in B<sub>χ</sub>. as a regular or recognized phenomenon.

Cf. Gabri (*iyē*) *šo vōt* “they said”.

*dī.er* = *dīgar*.

12. *gyapa* the *-a* here is equivalent to the definite article: “the senior wife”.  
*wō ibīd* (also *wā-*, *wā-*) = *šud* “(she) became”.  
 13. *avē.id ser i pā*: *avē.id* = *āmad*. This phrase is regularly used of a woman when child-birth is imminent.  
 14. *fišnādan* = *firistādand*. Pres. base *-fišn-*.  
*zangël*: *-gël*, *-gal*, *-gyël*, *-yël* is a common plural suffix with nouns denoting animate beings.  
 Cf. *hergyël*, l. 40, and *buzyël*, l. 42.  
 15. *kurrē*: *kur* + *ē* = “a son”.  
 16. *wō ibīdē*, 3rd sing. perfect.

The text seems confused: *bād iz . . . wō ibīdē* should probably follow *bōzi ikerdan* and *nāz ba kuras ikerdan* should be struck out as redundant.

18.  $\chi o^v = \chi \bar{u}b$ .  
*nē.iχo = namīχ<sup>v</sup>āhad*.  
*wā yek firgē bukunum = bāyad yak fikrī bikunam*, cf.  
*na wā . . . bukunē*, l. 32.  
*tai* = “in” or “to, the presence of (a person)”.
20. *avaidan = āmadand*, but here at most means “they proceed to (set) . . .” Probably the sense is: “it happened that they . . .”  
*šūlwā dū*, a dish made of rice, water, and sour milk (*dūγ*).  
 Etymologically *šūlwā* is identical with *šūrbā*.  
*čāla* “camp fireplace”, a hole made in the ground with stones placed round three sides of it.  
*wuristād pā . . .* “got up (and went) to . . .”
21. *hūr = χūr*.  
*yē tī* “a little”; *yak kamī, yak χurda.i*.  
*mērgyi.ā* “a kind of drug” (*dawā*) given to an unloving husband whom it makes go mad.  
*gyi.ā* is perhaps *giyāh* “grass, herb”, and *mēr* may be *mēra* “husband”.  
*gaubāz = Mn.P. kaulī*.  
*istaida bīd*: plup. of *istēdan* pres. base *istōn-*, *istun-* “to take”, “to get”.  
 Mn.P. *sitāndan*, cf. *bistūn*, l. 47.  
*yuna* acc. of *yu, yo* “this”, cf. ll. 44, 48.  
*goiyum = qāyim* “concealed”.
22. *rēdsūn = rīχtšān*.  
*tā terist zi’s χārd*: *teristan* pres. base *-ter-* “to be able”  
*χārd* = ordinary Persian *χurd* “As far as he was able, he ate of it”, i.e. “he ate his fill”.
23. *rā<sup>ad</sup> just e . . . = raft ba just o ju.i . . .*  
*hālis ba yak χerd = OCP hālaš bāham χurd*.
24. *bī.āhīn = bi.āyīd*. Note the 2nd pl. ending in *-īn*, which is regular in Bχ. and is a characteristic of the Kurdish dialects. It also occurs elsewhere as in Kermāni and Samnāni.
26. *čitē ? = čī + at + e* “what to thee is ?”

27. *mūrišt* = *larz*.  
*vandan* : *vandan* pres. base *van-*, *vèn* “to throw”, cf. *ivanum*, l. 50. Cf. Gabri *vanōdmūn*.  
*wur rī*’s OCP. *rūyaš*.
28. *zè nū* = “afresh”, “again”. The meaning is apparently that *after* the fever he was laid up for ten days.  
*vast* is equivalent to Mn.P. *uftād*. The root is no doubt similarly *pat-*.
29. *majhūl* explained as *dīwāna*, but apparently means “imbecile” rather than “mad”.
30. *pi.ā* denotes an “ordinary tribesman”.
32. Such anti-woman reflections are not infrequent in Bakhtiāri stories, which appear to be man-made.
34. *dā* “mother”; *bau*, *bau.ū* “father”.
35. *ayer kē* for the ordinary Persian *ager*, cf. ll. 45, 49, 51.  
 Similarly in Khowār as a borrowed word *ager ki*.
36. *wō.istī* “he ought to have”. The past of *wā*, Mn.P. *bāyast*.
37. *izad* = ‘*izzat*.  
*a* = *ast*.
38. *sī* “for”, “on account of”, Mn.P. *berā.i*.
39. *hamōčō* “that same place”, *uču*, *očo*, etc. “there”,  
*īču* “here”.
40. *wā bā* the usual Bχ. equivalent of Mn.P. *bā* “with”,  
 “along with”.  
 For *wā* alone, vide l. 34, *wā dā*’s.  
*hergyèl*, pl. of *her* = Mn.P. *χar* “donkey”.
41. *tīl i zanē* “a young married woman”, as opposed to an unmarried girl.  
*au ruft* probably for *au iruft* “she was sweeping”, i.e. “scooping up”, “water” into the mouth of a water-skin.
42. *bē*’s OCP. *bi* + *aš*, *bēš*.  
*terī* 2nd sing. pres. without prefix of *teristan* “to be able”, cf. l. 22.

The dependent verb is normally put in the pres. subj. with the prefix *bi-*. In this passage the indic. prefix



*i-* in *idūšī* and *iberī* is peculiar. It will be noted that in these cases the preceding word ends in a consonant.

This rhymed and obscure speech probably presents some archaic "double entendre".

43. *yè tī*, cf. l. 21, here and similarly in another text seems to be a euphemism for "sexual gratification".

44. *qazər* Ar.P. "*qadr*".

*wilingār* glossed "herza". Perhaps *wil* + *angār* "loose imagination".

47. *tu jāhili*: *jāhil* is used in Bχ. for "young man", "youth"; "young, immature".

50. *berd* is the regular Bχ. word for "stone". *mazg* = *mayz*. This forcible expression occurs elsewhere and is no doubt based on the actual experience of people who frequently indulge in Homeric conflicts with stones.

*herum* = Ar. Pers. *harām*.

51. *qāfil* Ar. Pers. *yāfil*.

52. *jang e qāl*: *e* is here for *wa*, *o* "and". It frequently represents the *izāfa*, and it is often difficult to be sure which it is.

*tāt'is*: *tāta* = "father's brother". The marriage of the children of brothers appears to be the normal thing among the Bakhtiāri.

53. *šīrbōhī* "the milk price", a payment made by the bridegroom to the bride's father before marriage, supposed to be on account of the mother's milk on which the girl was reared. The word appears in various forms ending in *-ī*, and also as *šīrbahā* (*šīr* + *bahā*). The change of *-ā* to *-ī* is peculiar.

*sāhav* = *šāhib*.

54. *jallāv* "young stock", 1 to 2 years old. The term is used of sheep, bulls, goats.

*iferō*<sup>u</sup>δ = Mn.P. *mīferūxt*.

55. *kauwa*, lamb, one year old or less.

*baxtis ōvērd*: *ōvērd* = *āward*.

I cannot corroborate this curious idiom by other instances of its use.

56. *Ōlī* and l. 59. *Ālī* (not 'Ali). The tribal name is written *علي محمودي* in the "*Kitāb i Tārīx i Baḫti.ārī.*"
57. *ba ya iškam ovērdṣūñ*, i.e. "they were twins", Bḫ. *jumū. sako* = "now".
60. *naqd* OCP. *naqdan*.  
*ailāq* = *yēlāx*, *yēlāq*.  
*Tauwa Dōverār* : *tauwa* = "cliff".  
*dōverār*, *dōberār* = "a kind of eagle".  
 cf. Phillott, s.v. "eagle" and Steingass s.v. *du birādarān*.

## TRANSLATION

*The Story of the Wife and her Partner*

A man of the Dīnārūni Tribe had two wives. One from the Sihīd section and one from the Gūrū.i. The Gūrū.i have their quarters at Shēmīn, and the Sihīd at Fālè.

The Sihīd wife was the senior and the Gūrū.i the junior. The husband loved the Gūrū.i best.

One day he said to her : " O Gulistūn, I love you very much but you don't deserve it." " How ? " said she. " You pay no attention to anything I say. When our sheep come in to the milking-place you must get up and milk them quickly before the other wife gets up, and do you too prepare the dough or soup we have. I am very much afraid of the other wife, you have seen how she gave me poison. Out of jealousy of you she will kill me."

" On my eyes be it," said Gulistūn, " I shall pay attention to everything you say."

They took counsel together, and thereafter she did every thing exactly as her husband said. The elder wife was kept out of things.

As it chanced Gulistūn conceived and after nine months she was confined. They sent off and a midwife came and the women-folk assembled. God bestowed on her a boy and they named him Kunāri.

After some years he had grown big. When he was two or three years old they fondled him and played with him.

The senior wife said : " Good, this husband no longer loves

me. I must think what is to be done. He does not sleep with me at night, he always sleeps with that woman."

They came one day and put some "*shūlwā dūgh*" on the fire to cook. Then she got up and sent to the saddle-bag (in which) she kept hidden a little "*mērgyā*" she had got from the gypsies.

She poured it into the *shūlwā*, and placed the latter before her husband. He ate his fill of it. Then he went off to look for his cattle. Up on the hill the drug took effect, and he was taken ill.

He shouted out to the camp: "Come and carry me down." They came and took him up on their backs, and carried him to his home.

They asked: "What's the matter with you?" He said: "Whatever it was I ate it in the *shūlwā dūgh*."

He began to shiver, and they threw two or three quilts over him. For two hours he had fever. Then again for another ten days he was prostrated.

At the end of the ten days he recovered, but he had eaten the *mērgyā*. It was not mortal, but it makes one go off one's head, and it made this poor man an imbecile.

After that he was of no use either to the one wife or to the other, and in this state he continued to go about.

Now we say that a man should not act on what a woman says, for woman is faithless, for no reason at all she destroys a man.

They ejected that wife, herself and her son. They went off about their own business.

Kunāri and his mother and father remained together.

If the man had loved both wives alike this suffering would not have come upon him. He ought to have loved them alike, but he did not. To honour one wife and not to honour the other is a bad thing.

The man repented (what he had done, and said): "Why did I do this thing, so that I (now) suffer misfortune?"

Night and day he was out of his mind and (in that state) he continued to dwell there.

Kunāri grew up. He tilled the land. (And so) their affairs went on.

(It chanced that) he went once with the donkeys to the water-side and there he saw a young married woman. She was filling water into a *mashk*. He spoke to her and said: "Can you milk goats? Can you eat their heads? Can you carry a load up on to the roof? Can you give me a little something?"

The woman replied: "Ah, ruin on your house! Do not be so abandoned. It is not the custom of the Bakhtiāri that you should eat all the filth your heart desires. If my brothers were to know that you had said such things to me straightway ten men would die. Go and get yourself a wife. You are a mere boy and have no sense. Don't go thinking 'she is a woman and I am a man'. Death to my brothers! By the soul of my father (I swear) that if ever again you say such things to me I'll dash your brains into your mouth with this stone here! You are of bastard birth."

Kunāri thought to himself: "She is right in calling me thoughtless. If people come to know this there will be strife and quarrelling."

Thereupon he went off to his paternal uncle. He gave him 100 *tumāns* as bride-price and took his uncle's daughter (to wife).

In course of time he became possessed of much wealth. He took to stock-rearing. He kept buying and selling, that is, he bought yearling lambs and sold them when they were two years old.

His fortune prospered. He had two sons by his uncle's daughter. He called the one Āli and the other Mahmīd.

She gave birth to these two at one time.

Now there are about 1,000 houses of the Dīnārūni Tribe who have come into existence in this way. People call their tribe the Āli Mahmīdi.

At the present time they have their winter quarters at Sūsin, and their summer quarters at Pā i Tauwa i Dōverār.

*The Story is Ended.*



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Mrs. A.K.S. Landon 15.12.43

Mrs. Chadwick

